6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Like the cooperative movement, popular education had long been a cornerstone of Ukrainian nationalism, more important in many respects than direct political action. In the conflict between the national Communists in the Ukraine and the Stalinist centralists, it was especially the commissars of education, such as Shums'kyi and Skrypnyk, who had led the fight for Ukrainization of cultural life. Consequently it was natural that nationalist Ukrainians were determined to control the municipal departments of education under German occupation.

A major aim of the Reichskommissar and his henchmen, however, was to prevent the development of a cultured Ukrainian class, to convert the people into a race of submissive peasants. Rosenberg's vision of a university in Kiev went by the board, and the standard schooling for every Ukrainian child was set at four years.[35] Few material injuries were as deeply resented as this drastic curb on the opportunities for education. Since there were real shortages of materials, books, and teachers, the Ukrainians held to the hope that the restriction did not represent a permanent policy, even in the face of the closing of *gimnaziias* which had been reopened under the army administration through the efforts of the local population itself.[36]

To a limited extent the ban on secondary and higher education was evaded by the extensive use made of a loophole in the German regulations which allowed the reopening of technical schools. The enormous loss of artisans and professionally trained persons incurred by the annihilation of the Jewish inhabitants compelled even the power-mad Nazis to recognize the need for training Ukrainians in such occupations. A large number of technical secondary schools, agricultural schools, and even institutes of higher education like medical faculties, were permitted. The extent to which these facilities were utilized by the Ukrainian population is indicated by the fact that the enrollment of the Kiev medical institute reached 2,000 in 1943 when the total population of the city was only 300,000, while Kherson, with a fifth

[35] Report of Rosenberg to Hitler, August 11, 1942, PS 42 (hereafter referred to as PS 42); PS 1198.

[36] E.g., in Berdichev (*Nastup*, September 20, 1941, p. 3, quoting *Nova Doba* [Berdichev] for September 1), Zhitomir (Iefremenko in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, November 1, 1941), and Belaia Tserkov' (*Nationalist*, December 20, 1941, p. 2).

impression on the intellectuals of the smaller towns. OUN-M writers and propagandists appear to have maintained regular contact with them for several months in 1941, and it is apparent that the Kiev *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* served as a model for many of the new editors.[8] Schools were opened under the direction of nationalist educators, Prosvita and theatrical groups were formed, cooperatives linked with *Vukospilka* were active. Apparently, too, the town administrations were largely in Ukrainian hands; the municipal authorities in Uman' issued a sweeping order forbidding the use of the Russian language in any office, school, or enterprise under their jurisdiction.[9]

The influence of the nationalists in the towns penetrated to some degree to the countryside in the area west of the Dnieper. For example, nationalist papers like *Nova Doba,* published in Berdichev, seem to have had a moderately large circulation in the villages. There also seem to have been nationalist influences of a purely local character in some places, aside from those brought in by the nationalist parties. Zvenigorodka, a small town about a hundred miles due south of Kiev had been the home of the Free Cossacks, a nationalist organization of the wealthier peasants during the revolutionary period. The group was revived by some of the villagers under the German occupation, and, together with a mimeographed newspaper, served as a focal point for local nationalism.[10]

The influence of the church, especially in the rural areas, was not entirely on the side of Ukrainian nationalism.[11] The Autonomous clergy under Alexius made an early start in reorganizing religious life in this region. They established a diocese of Vinnitsa and Zhitomir, and during most of the period of occupation were supported by the influential Bishop Damaskin (Maliuti) of Kamenets-Podolsk. Damaskin's diocese included nearly five hundred churches, with a hundred and sixty priests.[11] Apparently most of this large organization, which was overwhelmingly concentrated in the rural districts, had no objection to Damaskin's allegiance to the Russophile church. The Autocephalous Church

[8] Interview 30.
[9] *Nastup,* May 3, 1942, p. 2.
[10] R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti,* July 31, 1942, p. 3.
[11] *Krakivs'ki Visti,* October 13, 1942, p. 2.

10: Weinstein S-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

under Tsarism, but a long road had to be travelled before all children would have an opportunity to attend schools. Buildings would have to be constructed, teachers trained, text-books written and published. The Ukrainian government first endeavored to provide "elementary" or four-year schools for all children from eight to twelve years of age, then to expand these schools into "incomplete middle" or seven-year schools, and finally to replace these with "complete middle" or ten-year schools; and, in the meanwhile, the government established technical schools and higher educational institutions to train engineers, doctors, actors and other types of "socialist cadres." This quantitative growth of the school system was matched by its growth qualitatively, as measured from the point of view of the language policy. In spite of the shortages of teachers knowing Ukrainian and the languages of the other minorities,[2] the almost complete absence of text-books in these languages, and the appearance of considerable opposition on the part of political leaders, of teachers and even of parents, the Russian language was gradually replaced as the medium of instruction by the other languages.

As early as March 1919 an order of the Commissariat of Education of the newly re-established Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic declared that the Russification policy was abrogated; that the Commissariat would aid in the development of the long-repressed Ukrainian language; and that "in view of the elimination of a governmental language as such, and of the declaration that all local languages are equal, the Commissariat of Education gives the local population the right to determine in which language teaching must be carried on in the schools, safeguarding simultaneously the interests of [other] national groups."[10] Wherever the language of instruction remained Russian, a second language — also chosen by the local population itself — was to be taught as a special subject. In September 1920 this provisional order was strengthened by a law of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. The law instructed the Commissariat of Education to draw up a plan for schools of all grades and categories with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.[11] Ukrainian was to be studied as an obligatory subject in all teacher-training institutions and was to be used as the language of instruction in some of them. The law also ordered the Government Publishing House to issue "a sufficient quantity of text-books as well as *belles-lettres* and other publications in the Ukrainian language."

1921), pp. 3–6; *Zbirnik Uzakonen ta Rosporiadžen Robitničo-Seljanskogo Urjady Ukraini za 1924 rik*, 1924, part 1, sec. 271, pp. 800–803; Sojuz Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R., *Pjatyssesojuznyi S'ezd Sojuza Robotnikov Prosveščenija S.S.S.R. Stenografičeski Otčet* (Moscow, 1925), pp. 172–174.

[10] *Zbirnik Uzakonen . . .*, 1919, sec. 260, p. 347.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1920, part 1, sec. 509, pp. 712–713.

[2] [Prior to 1924 -- Analysis]

652 under their jurisdiction. For example, capital works, repairs,
657 and equipment for livestock raising centres, piggeries, cattle sheds, slaughterhouses and refrigerators (under the Ministry of Cattle Breeding); vineyards, orchards, repairs of irrigation facilities (under the Ministry of Technical Agricultural Production); repairs to barns and agricultural implements (under the Ministry of Agriculture); and rehabilitation of the brick and ceramic industry (under the Ministry of Home Construction).

Health Services. These expenditures are administered by the Ministry of Health, and include the feeding of patients, and repairs and equipment for hospitals and health service agencies.

● [658] Children's Institutions (over four years) and Schools. These expenditures are handled by the Ministry of Education, and include the feeding of children; and capital works, repairs and equipment for schools and children's homes.

Social Welfare Services Directed towards the Betterment of General Well-being. These expenditures are administed by the Ministry of Social Welfare and include such services as repairs and maintenance of social welfare agencies, and assistance to invalids.

Local Rehabilitation

648 As at March 1, 1947, about 41 per cent. of the gross proceeds of
727 UNRRA sales had been transferred to regional executive committees of
185 the government for use in the local and district economy. The local
731 projects - which are undertaken after approval by the state authorities and are subject to regular reporting and inspection - are similar in character to those carried out by the Republican Government Ministries. However, there is a considerable shift in emphasis. For example, at the regional level, nearly 57 per cent. of the total proceeds at their disposal was utilized for health services (hospitals, nurseries), 35 per cent. for children's institutions, 5 per cent. for repairs of public and industrial institutions, and 2 per cent. for the building of schools and repair of clubs.

Deliveries of UNRRA Supplies

648 In the original agreement between UNRRA and the Ukrainian Govern-
731 ment was a provision that the Administration would "strive within the limits of its resources" to procure and deliver the Ukraine's share of relief and rehabilitation supplies before July 1, 1946. In the early months of 1946, however, it became clear that procurement difficulties and transport hold-ups would prevent a great part of the supplies from being delivered in time. The UNRRA-Ukrainian Agreement was therefore extended to the end of 1946.

From December 1945, (when UNRRA deliveries to the Ukraine began) up to June 30, 1946, (the time at which they were originally scheduled